

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 259219

LIMDIS TOSEC 350

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER)

SUBJECT:FOREIGN AID BILL AND CONGRESSMAN FRASER

REFERENCES: TOSEC 35, 253, 264, SECTO 37

FOR SECRETARY FROM INGERSOLL, MAW AND HOLTON

1. IN REGARD TO OUR EARLIER PROPOSAL TO YOU THAT YOU AGREE
TO MEET WITH FRASER AND A FEW OF HIS COLLEAGUES ON DECEMBER
2, WE HAVE NOT, REPEAT NOT, DISCUSSED THIS DATE WITH
FRASER AND WE HAVE NOT, REPEAT NOT, DISCUSSED WITH FRASER
ANY COMPROMISE. THE QUESTION OF MEETING WITH FRASER
ON HUMAN RIGHTS WAS FIRST PROPOSED TO YOU IN OUR MEMORANDUM
OF SEPTEMBER 30 (S/S-9419121) WHICH YOU APPROVED ON
OCTOBER 4. WITH THAT AUTHORIZATION, WE TENTATIVELY
SCHEDULED YOU FOR DRINKS WITH CONGRESSMAN FRASER AND FOUR
OR FIVE OF HIS COLLEAGUES ON NOVEMBER 12. SUBSEQUENTLY,
IT BECAME IMPOSSIBLE FOR YOU TO KEEP THAT ENGAGEMENT AND,
ON YOUR INSTRUCTIONS, WE PHONED FRASER TO REGRET THAT IT
WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE TO MEET ON NOVEMBER 12 BUT THAT YOU
WOULD LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING HIM IN DECEMBER. THAT IS
WHERE THE INVITATION TO FRASER NOW STANDS.

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2. THE LEGISLATIVE SITUATION IS AS FOLLOWS:

(A) THE SFRC IS SCHEDULED TO BEGIN MARKUP ON NOVEMBER 25 AND WILL LIKELY COMPLETE THIS PROCESS AFTER THE THANKSGIVING RECESS. THE TRADE BILL WILL BE TAKEN UP DECEMBER 4 OR 5. HENCE, SENATE FLOOR DEBATE ON FOREIGN AID IS UNLIKELY TO BEGIN BEFORE DECEMBER 13. HOW EXTENSIVE FLOOR DEBATE WILL BE WILL DEPEND ON WHAT THE SFRC PRODUCES IN MARKUP AND OUR REACTION.

(B) IN THE HOUSE, THE HFAC BILL HAS ALREADY BEEN REPORTED OUT, BUT WILL NOT COME TO THE FLOOR UNTIL THE WEEK OF DECEMBER 9. IT WILL BE DEBATED UNDER AN OPEN RULE WHICH PERMITS UNLIMITED AMENDMENTS. HENCE, IT IS MOST UNLIKELY HOUSE DEBATE CAN BE COMPLETED MUCH BEFORE DECEMBER 12.

(C) HOW LONG SENATE-HOUSE CONFEREES WILL REQUIRE DEPENDS ON HOW FAR APART THE TWO BILLS ARE. IF THE CONFEREES ARE SPEEDY AND THE CONFERENCE REPORT IS ACCEPTED BY BOTH HOUSES WITHOUT DEBATE, WE MAY BE ABLE TO GET A FOREIGN AID AUTHORIZATION BILL BEFORE ADJOURNMENT (OR A CHRISTMAS RECESS) WHICH IS EXPECTED AROUND DECEMBER 18 TO 20.

(D) BUT WE MUST ALSO GET AN APPROPRIATION BILL. THE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEES IN BOTH HOUSES HAVE ALREADY HELD HEARINGS ON FOREIGN AID BUT ARE UNWILLING TO PRODUCE A BILL UNTIL AN AUTHORIZATION BILL IS ASSURED. (ALTHOUGH THEY WOULD APPROPRIATE FOR THOSE AID PROGRAMS WHICH RECEIVED A TWO-YEAR AUTHORIZATION LAST YEAR.)

(E) THE SPEED OF THE AUTHORIZING PROCESS DEPENDS LARGELY ON LIMITING FLOOR AMENDMENTS IN BOTH HOUSES. IF THE ADMINISTRATION CAN SUPPORT OR QUIETLY ACCEPT THE COMMITTEE BILLS, THERE IS A CHANCE THAT DEBATE CAN BE KEPT TO A MINIMUM IN ORDER TO "GET OUT BY CHRISTMAS." HOWEVER, IF WE SEEK TO CHANGE THE COMMITTEE BILLS THROUGH FLOOR AMENDMENTS, OUR OPPONENTS WILL HARDLY ABSTAIN.

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3. IN PART, THIS IS THE REASON THAT CONGRESSMAN FRASER IS ABLE TO HOLD THE FOREIGN AID BILL HOSTAGE IN THE HOUSE. AS SET FORTH IN TOSEC 264 (STATE 257814), HE HAS PROMISED A SUBSTITUTE BILL. THIS WILL BE INTRODUCED AS AN AMENDMENT DURING FLOOR DEBATE. IF IT DOES NOT SUCCEED IN SUPPLANTING THE HFAC BILL, IT WILL FATALLY

PROTRACT THE DEBATE.

4. FRASER IS CRITICAL FOR OTHER REASONS AS WELL.

(A) FOR A WIDE RANGE OF FACTORS WHICH I KNOW YOU APPRECIATE, THE FOREIGN ASSISTANCE BILL IN ITS CURRENT CONFIGURATION IS IN TROUBLE IN BOTH HOUSES. THE PROBLEM IN CONGRESS ARISES FROM THE DEFECTION OF LIBERAL SUPPORT IN BOTH PARTIES.

(B) HOWEVER, MANY OF THESE LIBERALS NEED A LIBERAL EXCUSE TO JETTISON A CAUSE THAT IN THE PAST HAS BEEN THE BRIGHTEST STAR IN THEIR INTERNATIONAL BANNER -- THE FOREIGN AID CONCEPT WHICH ORIGINATED WITH THE MARSHALL PLAN. TO MANY, FRASER IS PROVIDING THE PERFECT CAUSE, "I CAST MY NEGATIVE VOTE ... ONLY AFTER ALL EFFORTS HAVE FAILED TO PLACE ANY EFFECTIVE LIMITATION ON MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO THE PARK REGIME ... THE TIME HAS COME FOR CONSCIENTIOUS MEMBERS OF CONGRESS TO SERVE EFFECTIVE NOTICE ON THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH THAT THE INTERESTS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE NOT ADVANCED BY HELPING DICTATORS OPPRESSING THEIR OWN PEOPLE."

(C) THERE ARE, HOWEVER, COUNTERFORCES WORKING ON THE LIBERALS -- ASSISTANCE FOR ISRAEL, AGRICULTURAL (FOOD) DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS AND PROBABLY THE REST OF THE MIDDLE EAST PROGRAM (IF THE PLO ISSUE DOES NOT TURN THEM OFF). FRASER IS ALSO RESPONSIVE TO THESE ISSUES AND WILL PROBABLY HAVE A MINI AID BILL READY WHICH WILL COVER THESE REQUIREMENTS ONLY. WE FIND OTHERS IN BOTH HOUSES THINKING ALONG SIMILAR LINES. AS YOU RECALL, AID RECEIVED A TWO-YEAR AUTHORIZATION LAST YEAR, SO WILL ONLY REQUIRE AN APPROPRIATION FOR THOSE AUTHORIZED PROGRAMS. WE WOULD THEN HAVE A STRUGGLE TO MAINTAIN THE CONFIDENTIAL

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PRESENT LEVELS OF THE CONTINUING RESOLUTION.

5. WITH THE ODDS ALREADY AGAINST THE HFAC BILL, IT IS OUR JUDGMENT THAT FRASER'S SUPPORT WOULD GIVE IT A FAIR CHANCE, BUT HIS OPPOSITION WOULD SURELY KILL IT.

6. THE HFAC HAS CONFIRMED THE PROPOSED DATE OF DECEMBER 9 AT 3:30 P.M. FOR YOUR APPEARANCE. THIS LEAVES THE PRECEDING WEEK FOR A MEETING WITH FRASER. AS ONE OF THE SPONSORS OF THE DEMOCRATIC "MINI CONVENTION" IN KANSAS CITY HE WILL LEAVE WASHINGTON NO LATER THAN THE AFTERNOON OF DECEMBER 5.

7. HOWEVER, "TURNING FRASER AROUND" CANNOT WAIT UNTIL YOUR MEETING. WE EXPECT HIM TO SURFACE HIS SUBSTITUTE

BILL VERY SOON IN ORDER TO OBTAIN A BROAD BASE OF CO-SPONSORS. IT IS ESSENTIAL THEREFORE THAT WE TALK WITH HIM FIRST AND TRY TO FORESTALL, IF POSSIBLE, THE INTRODUCTION OF A SUBSTITUTE BILL. FOR THIS WE NEED, JUST FOR STARTERS, YOUR COMMITMENT TO MEET WITH HIM AS EARLY AS POSSIBLE BEFORE YOUR DECEMBER 9 HFAC APPEARANCE. PLEASE ADVISE. INGERSOLL

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